
BERKELEY'S AMERICAN SOJOURN

BENJAMIN RAND

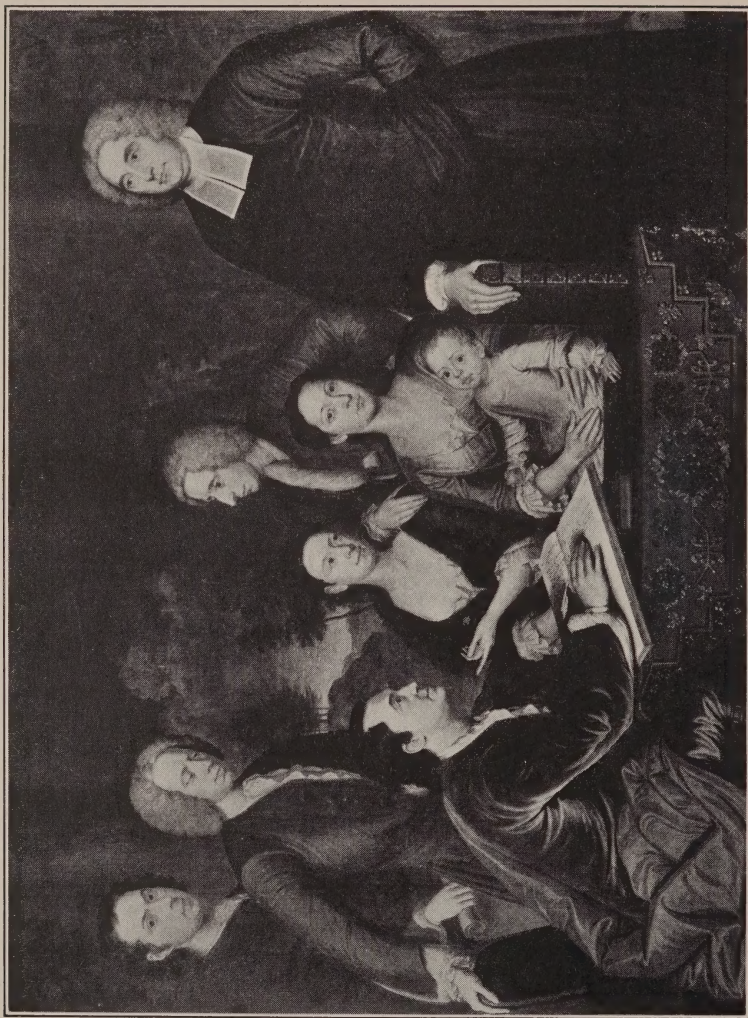
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Berkeley's American sojourn

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DEAN BERKELEY AND HIS COMPANIONS

Standing: John Smibert, John Moffat, John James, Dean Berkeley
Sitting: Richard Dalton, Miss Handcock, Mrs. Anne Berkeley, Henry Berkeley

George Berkeley, b.p. at Clayne

BERKELEY'S AMERICAN SOJOURN

BY BENJAMIN RAND, PH.D., LL.D.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY



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PREFACE

THIS monograph was originally presented under the title "New Light on Berkeley's American Sojourn," at the Commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of Dean Berkeley's arrival in America on January 23, 1729, which was held at the Berkeley Divinity School in New Haven, Connecticut, on January 23, 1929.

The new discoveries in regard to Berkeley which are to be found in the present volume are of both general and local character. Preceding the journey to America, Berkeley had travelled, as is well known, in Italy, between the years 1713 and 1721. In a previous book entitled *Berkeley and Percival* (1914), I had shown for the first time that Berkeley had made two separate journeys in this period, broken by an interval of two years (1715-16) of residence in England. On the basis of this

discovery Miss Marguerite Hersey, in her publication *New Light on the Evidence for Swift's Marriage*, shows most conclusively that while this disclosure does not prove that Swift married Stella, it does entirely disprove the evidence heretofore urged against his marriage. In my *Berkeley and Percival*, it is also made known that the famous poem of Berkeley with the prophecy:

Westward the course of Empire takes its way

was first written by him in a letter to Percival dated February 10, 1726, with the view of forwarding the scheme of founding a college in the Bermudas.

The correspondence of Berkeley and Henry Newman has been found most fruitful of new information on Berkeley's American Sojourn. Newman, who had been librarian of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, held later for the long period from 1708 to

1763 the office of Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge in London. From his intimate acquaintance with many prominent persons on both continents he was in a position to aid greatly anyone going for the first time from England to America. He accordingly wrote letters of introduction for Dean Berkeley to carry in which he asked governors of the colonies and others to assist him in this romantic venture overseas. The various reasons also are set forth in this correspondence why Berkeley, when he sailed from England on September 4, 1728, did not proceed directly to Bermuda, but chose to make a temporary abode on the American continent. From the information received through Newman, Berkeley too was much aided in selecting for his residence such a suitable and agreeable location as Newport in Rhode Island. Newman not only continued to correspond with Berkeley throughout his

American sojourn, but even after the Dean returned to England remained the chosen means of transmission for the various gifts made by him in America.

Berkeley early realized after arrival that Newport would be a more favorable site than Bermuda for his proposed college. Among the Episcopalians particularly hopes were raised that he would found his college in this beautiful locality. From local correspondence and Berkeley's own statements, the relations of Yale and Harvard to such a proposal are here clearly set forth. Since the parliamentary grant, however, had been voted to Berkeley solely for a college in Bermuda, he strove zealously to carry out the original plan. But after the government had delayed payment of the promised money for nearly three years, he was compelled, with feelings of deepest regret, to give up his cherished design of founding a college in America.

Berkeley had arrived in Virginia in January, 1729, and his departure for England was made from Boston, Massachusetts, on September 21, 1731. He stayed in Boston twelve days prior to the date of sailing. It is here made known for the first time that he preached during his stay in its historic King's Chapel on September 12, 1731, to "a great auditory." The fact is also disclosed and the circumstances are now first described of his visit to Harvard College on the 17th of September, 1731.

Soon after the Dean's arrival in England, efforts were made by Percival and Oglethorpe to secure some part of the subscriptions received by him for his college in Bermuda towards their project of founding the colony of Georgia. He refused their request, however, preferring as he said to assist the College at New Haven, "which breeds the best clergymen and most learned of any in America."

To Yale also he gave his estate at Newport, known as Whitehall. He sent too an organ direct to Trinity Church at Newport, and not, as tradition avers, in the first instance to the town of Berkeley, Rhode Island. He likewise made large gifts of books through Newman both to Yale and to Harvard. When later he became Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, his deep interest was still maintained in the affairs of the New World.

For the publication of this work an award has been bestowed from the Fund for the Support of the Humanities by the Corporation of Harvard University. To Dr. Arthur W. H. Eaton of Boston, Massachusetts, Professor Theodore Sizer of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, and the Rev. Stanley C. Hughes, rector of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, I desire to make grateful acknowledgment for the aid kindly given in the preparation of this work. To the cour-

tesy of the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University, which now possesses the original painting by Smibert, I am much indebted for the frontispiece of Berkeley and his family. Several photographs also illustrate other historic scenes of Berkeley's American Sojourn.

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

EMERSON HALL

APRIL, 1932

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THE early years of George Berkeley, the great English philosopher, Dean of Derry and later Bishop of Cloyne, belong to Ireland. He was born on the 12th of March, 1685, at Dysert Castle, near Thomastown in the county of Kilkenny. His father, William Berkeley, was of English descent. From the age of eleven to fifteen he attended the Duke of Ormond's school in Kilkenny, then the Eton of Ireland. In 1704 he received from Trinity College in Dublin the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1707 that of Master of Arts. On the 9th of June, 1707, he was admitted to a fellowship at Trinity, continuing in residence

there until 1713. While a student he had as his teachers Peter Brown, who wrote *The Procedure, Extent, and Limits of the Human Understanding*, and William King, who was the author of the well-known work on *The Origin of Evil*. The general interest of the students in metaphysics soon led Berkeley and a few friends to form a society for philosophical discussion. The first published fruits of this early period of philosophical reflection are to be found in his work *An Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision*, which appeared in 1709 and was dedicated to a young nobleman, Sir John Percival, who became his lifelong friend.

In January, 1713, Berkeley left the quiet atmosphere of his academic life and removed from Dublin to London, taking with him the manuscript of his *Dialogues*, which he was anxious to publish. During his residence here in the following years he enjoyed the society of the great wits of the age. He dined often

with Steele and became an intimate friend of Addison. His fellow countryman, Swift, was always the staunchest supporter of his projects, and of Sir John Arbuthnot, the court physician and well-known wit, he thought he had made a proselyte to his philosophy. He met also George Smalbridge, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, and enjoyed the esteem of Francis Atterbury, the clerical leader of the Jacobites. He not only easily won his way into close intimacy with the men of letters who shed lustre on the reign of Queen Anne, but was welcomed alike by Whig and Tory, for at that time literary leaders were also the allies of statesmen. His wonderful charm of manner gave him ready access to the hearts of all, for the excellence of his wit made him courted as a delightful companion. The simplicity and sincerity of his character bound acquaintances to him in ties of lifelong friendship. One comes thus to understand the enthusiastic

admiration of Pope which led him in the well-known line to attribute:

To Berkeley every virtue under Heaven.

At this time a sudden change occurred in the career of Berkeley. The charms of literary London were abandoned for the purpose of travel on the continent. His wanderings abroad included two separate journeys, covering a period of nearly eight years (1713-21), broken by two years (1715-16) of residence in England. In the first tour he acted as chaplain to the Earl of Petersborough (1658-1735), who had been appointed ambassador extraordinary for the coronation of the King of Sicily. It was Swift who had recommended his compatriot for this position in the suite of the famous earl, who was then regarded as one of the first diplomats of Europe. His travels on the continent in the second tour cover a period of between four and five years (1716-

21). During this later period he had as a travelling companion St. George Ashe, the only son of St. George Ashe (1658?-1718), who was Bishop of Clogher, and a friend of Swift. The intervening period from August, 1714, to November, 1716, he spent chiefly in London. The fact of this interval in his journeys, which was first made known by the publication of my *Berkeley and Percival* (1914), throws remarkable light upon the question as to whether or not Swift married Stella. The evidence heretofore given in favor of it has been that of Monck-Berkeley, who writes: "I was informed by the relict of Bishop Berkeley that her husband had assured her of the truth of Swift's marriage, as the Bishop of Clogher, who had performed the ceremony, had himself communicated the circumstance to him." But the biographers of Swift, Churton Collins and William Monck Mason, have dismissed this evidence with the

statement that as Berkeley was abroad during the entire period, 1713-21, he could not have heard it from the Bishop. The fact that Berkeley is now shown ¹ to have been in England in 1716 does not indeed prove that Swift married Stella, but does entirely disprove the evidence heretofore urged against it. The year 1716 is the date in which the marriage is said to have occurred, and what would be more natural than that the Bishop of Clogher should have told Berkeley, who was then about to accompany his son into Italy?

The Italian tours of Berkeley were assuredly noteworthy events in his career. He traversed apparently the whole of Italy, and certainly saw its remotest parts. Italy fostered in him a deeper appreciation of the beauties of nature, and gave him a wider acquaintance with the realm of art. Moreover,

1. See Marguerite Hersey, *New Light on the Evidence for Swift's Marriage*, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, vol. XLII, March, 1927, pp. 157-161.

there was developed in him through his journeyings a spirit of adventure which presaged even greater achievements. But his *wanderlust* had still to receive the promptings of a nobler inspiration. The occasion for it was at hand. When he returned to England, he found the nation in profound agitation owing to the failure of the South Sea Company in its gigantic speculations connected with British trade in South America. This great fraud was accompanied by a host of lesser ones. Such evidence of national corruption led the philosopher to write an *Essay towards Preventing the Ruin of Great Britain*. In this he recommended a greater simplicity of life, the encouragement of art, and the adoption of various sumptuary laws. His ardent spirit was evidently now controlled by the desire for philanthropic endeavors. Hence it was that romance and philanthropy became united as the essential factors that animated his sub-

sequent scheme of founding a college in America.

There occurred in the period following Berkeley's travels in Italy two important events which greatly aided his American enterprise. In 1723 Swift's Vanessa died, and Berkeley found to his great surprise that he had been made the co-heir and executor of her estate, as she had suddenly altered her will in his favor after a quarrel with the Dean over Stella. And in the next year Berkeley was named Dean of Derry, "the best deanery in this Kingdom," supposed to be worth fifteen hundred pounds per annum. With these additions to his fortune, he was now better able to press forward his romantic project. In a letter to Lord Percival, afterwards first Earl of Egmont, dated March 4, 1723, he gives the first intimation, so far as is known, of the project which had been much in his mind as he then

writes: "It is now about ten months since I have determined with myself to spend the residue of my days in the island of Bermuda." In another letter of a little later date he sends also to Percival a copy of the famous verses written to favor the cause, prophesying:

Westward the course of Empire takes its way.

Everything at this time seemed to favor his plan. With a letter of recommendation from Swift to Lord Carteret, in 1724 he crossed from Ireland and came to London, where he succeeded in securing considerable private subscriptions for his plan. Parliament also voted him a grant of twenty thousand pounds. Accordingly, accompanied by his newly wedded wife, who was Anne, daughter of John Forster, former chief justice of Ireland, her friend Miss Handcock, John James, and Richard Dalton, two gentlemen of fortune,

and the artist John Smibert, he set sail with high hopes from London on September 4, 1728, "to follow his westward star."



From the letters of Henry Newman (H. C. 1687), who was librarian of Harvard University from 1690 to 1693 and had been appointed agent of the Harvard Corporation to secure a legacy left by Edward Hopkins in London, it is quite evident that Berkeley fully intended when sailing to proceed to the continent of America before settling in Bermuda. As Newman did not return to Harvard University, but held from 1708 to 1763 the office of Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, he was able owing to his connections with both continents to be of real assistance to those seeking the New World. When Berkeley therefore was about to sail in 1728, Newman forwarded letters of

recommendation concerning him to various officials and prominent people in America. To the Honorable Col. Jenks, Governor of Rhode Island (1727-32), Newman writes on August 24, 1728:

“Hon. Sir: Having long since known your character and when you were in London the honour of some acquaintance with you, I take leave to recommend to your patronage and advice the Rev. Dr. Berkeley, Dean of Londonderry, whose zeal for the service of religion and humanity has exercised him so far as to induce him to undertake a voyage to America, in hopes of being instrumental to making the Gospel of Jesus Christ more known than it has been hitherto among the natives of the continent. . . . He hath obtained a patent from our most gracious King for erecting a school or college for such purpose. . . . John James and Richard Dalton, Esq., gents of honour and fortune are so good as to accompany the

Dean in his setting out upon this design. . . . They have travelled through the most polite parts of Europe, and if they arrive with you will have the pleasure of communicating their experience to the uncultivated parts of America.”¹

Similar letters of recommendation were addressed to Jahleel Brenton, Esq.,² Rhode Island; to the Rev. Mr. Harris at Boston; the Honorable Colonel Wentworth, District Governor of New Hampshire; the Rev. Dr. Butler at Boston; and John Boysdell, Esq., at Boston.

In the correspondence of Berkeley and Percival³ the various reasons are given why

1. W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898*, London, 1898, p. 242.
2. Jahleel Brenton, son of Governor Brenton, agent in London of the Rhode Island Colony, but who later became judge of the Admiralty Court in Newport, Rhode Island, died 1732.
3. B. Rand, *Berkeley and Percival*, Cambridge, England, 1914.

Berkeley did not go directly to Bermuda, but chose to settle for a period on the continent. A chief reason was that by the terms of his patent, if he had gone directly to the island he would have had to vacate his Deanery within a year, and it would have been improvident to have taken such a risk until it became certain that the government grant would be paid. Still another reason was that by going first to the continent of America he could purchase lands to supply his college in Bermuda with provisions and thereby encourage trade between the island and the continent. For this latter purpose indeed several offers of lands were made to him by different colonies. Newman, in a letter to Berkeley of April 29, 1729, adds as a postscript: "If you should be induced to pitch your stake in New York Government there is an island called Fisher's Island of which Mr. Winthrop is proprietor, who I believe would give you a good

tract of land towards encouraging your settlement there." Again Newman writes to Berkeley on September 17, 1729: "I mentioned Mr. Winthrop to you in my last. He is a vast landed man in the Province of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York Government, and if he has any estate properly situated for your purpose, I believe he would let you have what you want on easy terms. He is now here to promote some claims against Connecticut."¹ A few months later, on January 27, 1730, Newman tells Berkeley: "Rev. Sir: Mr. Winthrop, mentioned in my former letter, desires me to offer you the refusal of two or three islands belonging to him, called Elizabeth Islands, which are between Rhode Island and Martha's Vineyard, if you should be inclined to make any more purchases in New England, or if not, perhaps Messrs. Jones and Dalton may be disposed to

1. W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

purchase an estate so valuable as those islands are capable of being made." It is very evident from such offers that the continent was intended to be his temporary abode before a final settlement in Bermuda.

Although Rhode Island became Berkeley's place of residence, Virginia has the distinction of having been his first landing place in America. His vessel put in at the southern port early in January, 1729, on her way, and he was received, as he writes to Percival (February 7, 1729), with many honors by the governor, William Gooch, and the principal inhabitants. During his short stay he visited at Harrisburg the College of William and Mary,¹ with which he was much pleased.

Sailing again northward, Berkeley arrived at Narragansett Bay in Rhode Island on January 23, 1729, where according to tradition,

1. James Blair was president from 1693 to 1743, and among the students are the names of Carter, Cary, Randolph, Robinson, and four Blairs.

says W. Updike,¹ he forwarded a letter to the Rev. Mr. Honyman, rector of Trinity Church. This letter the pilot on coming ashore gave to Mr. Gardiner and Mr. Martin, members of the church. It being a holy day, they found Mr. Honyman at church. The letter was delivered to him in his pulpit, and on reading it he learned that the Dean was expected to arrive in Newport at any moment. After giving the information to the congregation the rector closed the service and with his vestrymen went immediately to Ferry Wharf, where they received the Dean as he landed. The Rev. James Honyman, who welcomed Berkeley, had been appointed missionary to America in 1704 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and had become rector of Trinity Church in New-

1. Wilkins Updike, *A History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, Rhode Island*, Boston, 1847, p. 195.

port. The founder of this church was Sir Francis Nicholson, who had been in turn Lieutenant-governor of New York, Governor of Maryland, and Governor of Virginia. He commanded the forces that took Port Royal in 1710, where he became Governor of Nova Scotia, and in 1721 was appointed Governor of Carolina. In Trinity Church Berkeley preached on January 26, 1729, the first Sunday after his arrival, as he subsequently did on various occasions during his sojourn in Newport.

That the worthy Dean very early discovered the advantages of Newport over Bermuda as a location for his proposed college would appear from a letter written by Newman to him shortly after hearing of his arrival. On April 29, 1729, Newman writes to Berkeley as follows: "The news from Boston of your safe arrival after a perilous voyage has

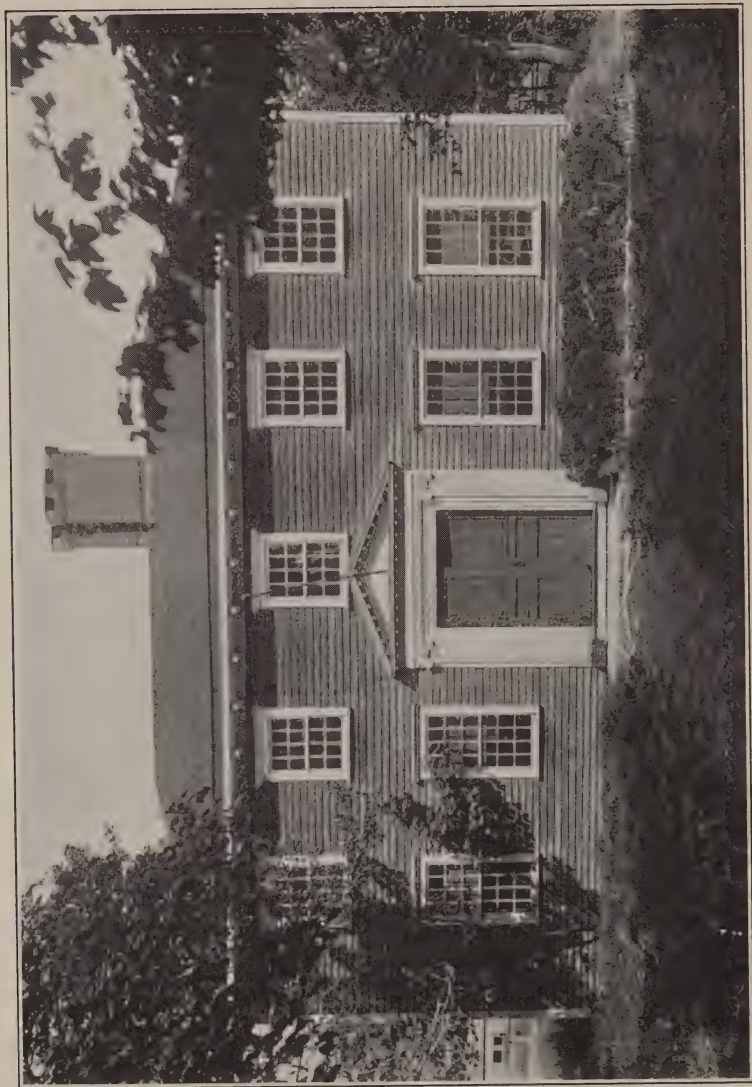
happily delivered your friends from the fear they were in upon the apprehensions of your being lost. I shall be glad to hear that things answer your expectation, and that your main design may at length be accomplished, if not in the manner you first proposed, yet in such a one as may be effectual. I believe you are now satisfied that if you had made a short voyage to America before you had published your proposal, you would have very much altered your scheme, but I hope you will have it in your power to rectify your first project in whatever it was amiss, and that your friends may easily obtain a royal license for such alterations as may be recommended by you. . . . I shall be glad to hear that the climate agrees with you and your lady, and that Mr. James and Mr. Dalton have their health and meet their wishes after sharing so many perils with you." But Berkeley later found it expedient to hold to the design of Bermuda, lest

he lose the promised grant from the government.



For nearly three years Berkeley awaited the outcome of his Bermuda scheme. After several months' residence in Newport, he perfected the purchase of land and built a house in a beautiful location about three miles from the town. The farm he bought consisted of about one hundred acres, and adjoined one of about the same extent belonging to the Rev. James Honyman, rector of Trinity Church, to whom he became a neighbor. In a letter written to his friend Tom Prior on March 9, 1730, he says: "I live here upon land I have purchased and in a farmhouse I have built in this island. It is fit for cows and sheep and may be of good use for supplying our college in Bermuda." His evident intention as here stated in the purchase of land in Newport as an investment was to supply provisions

to Bermuda, and also to establish a friendly commerce between the two places. The house which he built for his own residence was called Whitehall, in loyal remembrance of the London palace of the English kings from Henry VIII to James II. It was built of wood in two stories, and possesses a character all its own. Its parlors have low ceilings and large fireplaces with old-fashioned painted tiles. The narrow staircases lead to commodious upper bedrooms. The approach to the house was along a path lined with boxwood. About it still stand a few old cedars and the trees of an orchard. The house was built in a lovely valley not far from Honyman's Hill, which commands an extensive view of the ocean and country. When asked why he had not built on the hill, the Dean is said to have replied that "to enjoy the prospect from the hill he must visit it only occasionally; if his constant residence were on the hill the view would be so



WHITEHALL, MIDDLETOWN, R.I.

common as to lose all its charm." The estate he gave to Yale University, which to this time owns the fee. Whitehall still stands and is leased by the Society of Colonial Dames, who now preserve it as a Berkeley museum.

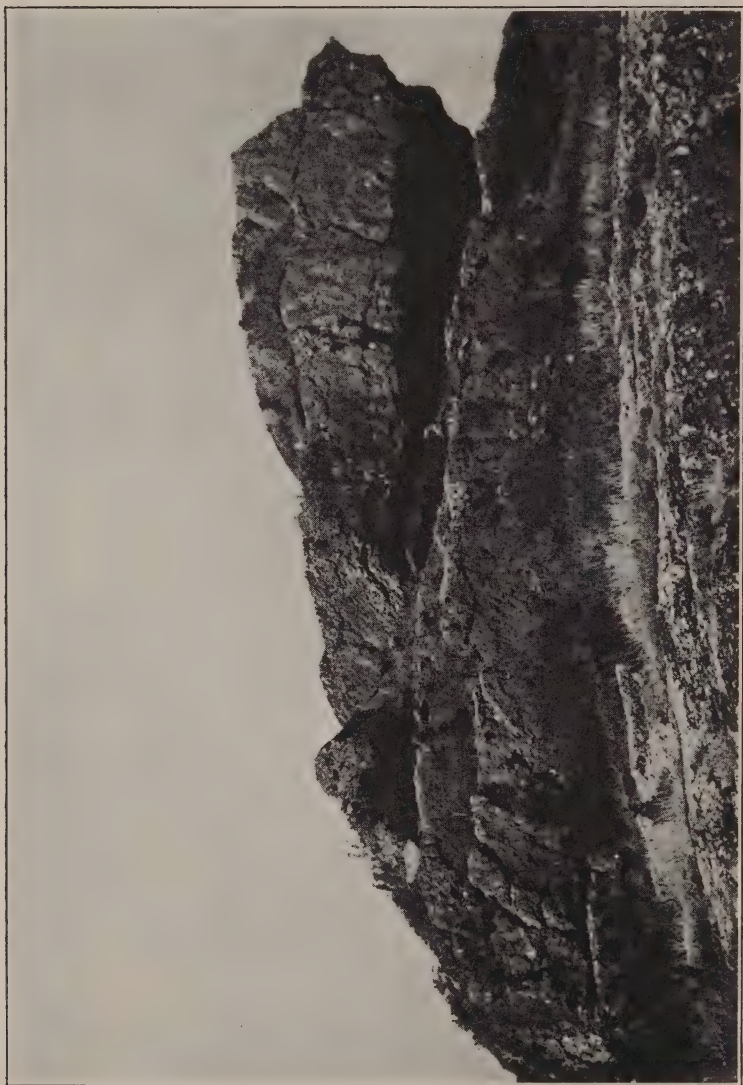
A better place than Newport for Berkeley's sojourn, until the promised funds were received which would enable him to remove to Bermuda, could not have been chosen by a man of cultivated tastes with a desire for a retired life. To Tom Prior he writes (March 9, 1730): "Mr James, Dalton, and Smibert etc. are at Boston and have been for several months. My wife and I abide by Rhode Island preferring quiet and solitude to the noise of a great town, notwithstanding all the solicitations that have been used to draw us hither." After the fatigues of the long voyage the philosopher naturally found the retirement of Whitehall far more agreeable than any possible allurements of Boston, "the great place of pleasure

and resort in these parts." Then too the delightful climate and scenery were additional allurements. The climate he found, as he says in a previous letter to Tom Prior dated April 24, 1729, like that of Italy north of Rome, though not so cold. The island was pleasantly laid out in hills and vales and rising grounds. He was never more agreeably surprised than at the sight of the town and its harbor. "The town," he says, "is prettily built and hath a very fine harbour." The charms of the soft and rural scenery in its vicinity did not fail to possess attractions for one who had dwelt in the beautiful island of Inarime. He fears, he says when writing to Percival on March 28, 1729, to describe those charms lest he run the risk of being thought romantic.

The happy response of Berkeley's poetic temperament to the loveliness of nature in the environs of Newport also finds full expression in his delightful descriptions of them later in

his *Alciphron* or the *Minute Philosopher*. This work is believed to have been written at the Hanging Rocks in a natural alcove overlooking the sea at Sachuset Beach near Whitehall. Certainly he has wrought the landscape and sea view into it by numerous local allusions, and thereby added the halo of a great reputation to a place of wondrous beauty. In Dialogue I, Section 1, of *Alciphron* the scenery about Whitehall is pictured as follows: "After dinner we took our walk to Crito's which lay through half a dozen pleasant fields, planted with plane trees, that are very common in this part of the country. We walked under the delicious shade of these trees for about an hour before we came to Crito's house, which stands in the middle of a small park, beautiful with two fine groves of oak and walnut, and a winding stream of sweet and clear water."

In Dialogue II, Section 1, he gives us also a picture of the Hanging Rocks near Whitehall.



HANGING ROCKS, SACHUSET BEACH, R.I.

he went to Boston to take passage to London.

Berkeley was moreover most happy in the choice of Newport as a place of residence, inasmuch as owing to its being an important centre of trade, one was saved thereby from any narrowness of provincial isolation. The town was at that time a commercial rival of Boston and of New York. Its overseas trade brought it into close connection with the European world. In this way it received a direct and constant stream of stimulating thought from abroad. The people thereby tended to be tolerant and broadminded. This was particularly evident in the realm of religion. Rhode Island, having been colonized by Roger Williams, was animated by a spirit of religious toleration greater than was to be found in any of the other colonies. Berkeley revealed himself too as tolerant towards people of various religious denominations.

When he preached in Trinity Church, Quakers and Baptists alike came to hear him. All sects were present in his congregation. He constantly impressed upon the Episcopal missionaries about him of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to cultivate the most friendly relations with the ministers of the various dissenting churches. He even sought to change in the interests of the Negroes the attitude of his own Church of England, wherein the notion was held that being baptized was inconsistent with the state of slavery. On the parish records of Trinity Church of June 11, 1731, may be found the names of Philip Berkeley, Anthony Berkeley, and Agnes Berkeley his own Negroes received into the church. Still later he procured from his Majesty's attorney and solicitor-general an opinion in favor of the reception of Negroes in the church and had it distributed throughout the plantations.

Newport had in addition attractions of a cultural character which made it preëminent in the New World. It was far from having a barren intellectual soil when Berkeley arrived in 1729. The people living in the place loved learning and possessed a generous degree of culture. There were numerous private libraries of great excellence in which were to be found the best works of the ancient and modern classical writers. Berkeley had enjoyed in England personal associations with Steele, Pope, Addison, and Swift. He discovered the writings of these authors in the hands of Newport readers, since they are listed in the private libraries belonging to the residents at this period. Such men as the Rev. Mr. Honyman, Colonel Daniel Updike, and the Rev. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, Connecticut, became genuine intellectual companions of Berkeley. The cultural refinement of Newport was shared too by the neighboring com-

munity of Narragansett. Here there was a landed aristocracy that owned slaves and followed the hounds in the chase like the English country gentlemen. The children of these wealthy planters received their education from tutors brought from England. Such libraries of Narragansett families as the Gardiners' and the Dickinsons' were full of literary treasures. The people of Newport and Narragansett were well able to appreciate the learning and rich intellectual endowment of Berkeley.

Although it is thus evident that Newport possessed much of refinement and culture, yet there was still a lack of concerted and organized effort in its intellectual life until Berkeley's coming. This was effected through the formation in 1730 of a Literary and Philosophical Society. While it is by no means certain that Berkeley was the actual founder of this Society, yet he certainly promoted its

interests by his frequent presence at its meetings and by taking a prominent part in its discussions. Among the first signers of its constitution and the most active of its members were Colonel Daniel Updike, the Attorney General of the Rhode Island Colony for twenty-seven years; Edward Scott, the grand uncle of Sir Walter Scott, who was the master of the grammar school in Newport for many years; Henry Collins, who was educated in England and was a patron of literature and the fine arts; James Honyman, Jr., the son of the rector of Trinity Church; William Ellery, ancestor of the Rev. William Ellery Channing of Boston; the Rev. John Callender (H. C. 1723), author of the first historical account of the Rhode Island Colony; and the Rev. Jeremy Condy. Stephen Hopkins, who became Governor of Rhode Island and who founded the Providence Library, was the one Providence representative in the Society. The

Rev. Samuel Johnson (Y. C. 1714) of Stamford, Connecticut, the intimate friend and philosophical disciple of Berkeley, was also an associate member of this Philosophical Society. A society which comprised members of the intellectual calibre of the men here mentioned was well qualified to discuss the philosophical problems which engaged the thought of Berkeley. It could not but afford an excellent opportunity for him to expound and formulate his idealistic doctrine. Indeed, *Alciphron or the Minute Philosopher*, which was wholly composed during Berkeley's residence in Newport, may have been in a measure the outcome of animated discussions at the meetings of this Society.



It is not surprising that Berkeley, amid surroundings such as are here described, should have been favorably impressed with Newport as a site for his proposed college. In the very

first letter to Percival (February 7, 1729) after he reached this place, he says: "And (that which pleases me beyond all things) there is a more probable prospect of doing good here than in any other part of the world. I am so fully convinced of this, that (were it in my power) I should not demur one moment about initiating our college here." And undoubtedly Newport would have proved an excellent location in which to found a college.

Among the Episcopalians of New England particularly hopes also were raised that Berkeley might found a college in this region. The Rev. Timothy Cutler (H. C. 1701) writes from Boston on July 18, 1729, to Dr. Zachary Grey in Bedfordshire, England: "Dean Berkeley is at Rhode Island honoured by the whole church, and dissenters of all denominations. He will pass the next winter there and we promise ourselves he will use his interest to place his College in these parts, and this will

be some compensation for the loss the church has sustained as to Harvard College." The Rev. Mr. Cutler had been rector of Yale College, but in 1722 he was "excused from further services" in that institution because with several others he had joined the Episcopalians. He was later ordained a clergyman of the Church of England, and in 1724 had charge of Christ Church in Boston. Inasmuch as the Harvard College Charter of 1642 affirmed that its Overseers should consist of the governor, deputy governor, and all the magistrates, together with the teaching elders of the six next adjoining towns, viz. Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, the Rev. Mr. Cutler applied in 1725 with the Rev. Samuel Myles of King's Chapel of Boston for admission as overseers of Harvard College. The Overseers being Congregationalists apparently desired to retain paramount control of this seat of learning, and

refused the application on the ground that the meaning of "teaching elders" as laid down in the charter meant only dissenting ministers, whereas the Episcopalians claimed it for preachers of all the churches. Dr. Cutler then appealed to the General Court against the decision, but this appeal was refused on December 28, 1729. He made a final appeal on June 16, 1730, to the Overseers, but the memorial was again dismissed. The loss sustained in reference to Harvard College of which Dr. Cutler writes thus relates to the failure of this attempt to introduce Episcopalians on an equality with Congregationalists in the government of that institution. The very natural desire consequently arose with Episcopalians to establish a college through the agency of Dean Berkeley, who was of a broader spirit than was evidenced by the sectarian action at this period alike of Yale and of Harvard.

The keenest critic by far in America of

Berkeley's plan for a college in Bermuda was William Byrd (1674-1744), a wealthy colonial Virginian and a man of letters. Byrd had been educated in England, possessed a superb private library, and wielded a virile pen. In a letter to Percival dated June 10, 1729, he directs the shafts of his trenchant wit against the "romantic" project. The Dean he regards "as much a Don Quixote in zeal, as that renowned knight was in chivalry." In the dream of Bermuda as offering a climatic and scenic elysium for a college Berkeley, it is true, was more nearly right than his opponent. But there cannot be a successful institution of learning without students, and it is here that Byrd wisely and wittily points out the real defect of the project to obtain students. He says that "the Dean must have the command of half a dozen regiments, with which he, or one of his professors, in the quality of a Lieutenant General, must make a descent upon

the coast of Florida, and take as many prisoners as he can. Nor will your Lordship think this extravagant, considering that a wild scheme in order to be consistent with itself should have wild measures to carry it on." As an instance of the Dean's unwisdom Byrd, with his southern bias, remarks also upon the improvidence of purchasing land in a northern colony, thus perchance overlooking other advantages which might accrue from intercourse with those he elsewhere styles the "Saints of New England." Percival briefly replies (December 3, 1729) to Byrd that the Dean has already had ample chance in Rhode Island of seeing things with his own eyes and is as resolute to proceed as ever.

But the prospect of founding a college overseas began to darken. Undoubtedly the chief weapon used against the college was the rumor which had spread that the original plan of Bermuda as a location had been aban-

doned. "On my first coming," Berkeley writes (May 7, 1730) to his friend Prior, "I had some thoughts to apply to his Majesty to translate the college hither; but have since seen cause to lay aside all thoughts of that matter. I do assure you *bona fide* that I have not the least intention to stay longer here than I can get a clear answer from the government; for upon all private accounts I should like Derry better than New England. As to the reason of coming, it was to purchase land and stock here, which might supply the defects of Bermuda, and so obviate a principal objection that was made to placing a college there." In vain Berkeley strove to undeceive the government authorities by trying to make clear that he had decided that Bermuda after all was the better place, especially as the money had been voted for that location. Equally futile were the efforts to that end of his supporters in England. Henry Newman writes him (Febru-

ary 5, 1731): "I have acquainted several of your friends with your resolution to go to Bermuda as soon as the government are determined to comply with their grant under the great seal, but they seem to think the government will be less inclined to such a determination upon the advices of the mutinous disposition of the inhabitants since the withdrawing of the independent companies from thence to the Bahama Islands and South Carolina." In the absence from England of the eloquent promoter of this college overseas the chances of receiving government support gradually waned. "Sir Robert Walpole" (1676-1745), Percival writes (October 23, 1730) to Berkeley, "has said in confidence to Mr. Hutchinson that the money would never be paid." To Edmund Gibson (1669-1748), the Bishop of London, Walpole also said when pressed for a definite reply: "If you put this question to me as a minister, I must and can assure you that

the money shall undoubtedly be paid, as soon as suits with public convenience; but if you ask me as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America, expecting the payment of twenty thousand pounds, I advise him by all means to return to Europe, and give up his present expectations." And later, on March 16, 1731, when Percival asked Sir Robert Walpole if Dean Berkeley's disappointment proceeded from any ill opinion of his loyalty to the present government, he replied: "No, it was owing to the Duke of Dorset and Lord Wilmington." Berkeley was at length compelled to give up all hopes of carrying out his cherished design of founding a college in America. The disappointment lay heavy upon his spirits, but the influences adverse to his project were beyond his control. There was no alternative except to tell Percival (March 2, 1731) that his thoughts were now set towards Europe, where he would en-

deavor to be useful in some other way. From Boston Dr. Cutler on April 20, 1731, writes to Zachary Grey: "Dean Berkeley is coming home, leaving us lamenting the loss of him."

Alciphron, which was written in 1731, the last year of Berkeley's residence at Whitehall, would appear to reflect in its opening paragraph his attitude of mind at this time regarding the failure of his project. "I flattered myself, Theages," Berkeley writes, "that before this time I might have sent you an agreeable account of the success of the affair which brought me into this remote corner of the country. But instead of this I should now give you the detail of its miscarriage, if I did not rather choose to entertain you with some amusing incidents which have helped to make me easy under a circumstance I could neither obviate nor foresee. . . . For several months past I have enjoyed such liberty and leisure in this distant retreat, far beyond the verge of

the great whirlpool of business, faction, and pleasure, which is called the World."

Berkeley's departure from Newport was delayed, however, for a short time owing to the birth of his daughter Lucia. The child lived only a few months. She died September 5, 1731, and was buried in Trinity Churchyard at Newport. Her name may still be seen on the family tombstone of Nathaniel Kay, Esq., the friend of Berkeley, just inside the gateway to the cemetery. The inscription to her reads: "Joining to the South of this tomb lies Lucia Berkeley, daughter of Dean Berkeley. Obit the 5th of September, 1731." Immediately following this sad and closing experience in Newport, Berkeley writes on September 7, 1731, to Samuel Johnson at Stratford, Connecticut: "I am now upon the point of setting out for Boston to embark for England. I have left a box of books with Mr. Kay to be given away by you where they

would be most serviceable among the people. The Greek and Latin books I would have given to such lads as you think will make the best use of them in the College or to the school at New Haven." On September 9, 1731, Berkeley departs from Newport for Boston, and the romantic episode of his sojourn in this charming region comes to an end. But with Whitehall and the neighboring scenes which he has described, Newport ever possesses more associations of the Dean than are to be found anywhere else. As Fraser truly says, "The Island still acknowledges by his visit that it has been touched with the halo of a great and sacred reputation."



Concerning Berkeley's sojourn for twelve days in Boston after his arrival from Newport, while awaiting the time of sailing, no information has been given in any previous account of

the philosopher. Such new data as are here presented have been gleaned from diaries and newspapers as contemporary sources. In Benjamin's Walker's manuscript diary, which is preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, it is recorded under the date of "Fryday, 10th (September) 1731: Dean George Berkeley with his wife and family came into town from Road Island by land to go to England in Carlin." Inasmuch as ships were known at this early period by the name of the captain, it is apparent that Berkeley planned to sail in a ship commanded by Captain Carlin. Smibert the artist, who had come to Newport in the same ship with him from England but who had made his home in Boston, would be among those to welcome him on his arrival. This artist most probably completed at this time the painting now owned by Yale University of Berkeley and his companions which he

had undertaken in Newport. From Sewall's diary it is evident too that Berkeley became the guest of Colonel Francis Brinley in Roxbury during his stay in Boston.

While Berkeley was in Boston he preached in King's Chapel. The possibility of his having done so has been previously surmised, but the actual performance has never heretofore been confirmed. In Walker's diary it is said that "On Lord's Day 12 [September, 1731] in ye morn Dean George Berkeley preacht in ye [King's] Chapel from ye 1st Epistle to Timothy ye 3rd Chap., Verse 16, and a fine sermon; according to my opinion I never heard such a one. A very great auditory." The text of this remarkable discourse would thus be: "And without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness." The rector of King's Chapel at the time was the Rev. Roger Price, who had succeeded the Rev. Samuel Myles in 1728, and the wardens were Job

Lewis and Charles Apthorp. King's Chapel still preserves the architectural character of this period, as does also Trinity Church in Newport.¹

It is the Rev. Joseph Sewall's diary which records in a most important entry the visit of the philosopher Berkeley to Harvard College. Sewall writes in his diary on September 17, 1731: "Dean Berkeley visited the College. Col. Hutchinson and I overtook him at Mr. Brinley's." The Rev. Joseph Sewall (H. C. 1707), who accompanied Berkeley, was at that time a Fellow of Harvard College, as he held that office from 1728 to 1765. He was also the minister of the Old South Church, over which he had been ordained in 1713 and where he continued until his death in 1769. In 1723 he had been asked to become President of Harvard on the death of President Lev-

1. Cf. Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, Boston, 1882-96, vol. II, p. 116.



TRINITY CHURCH, NEWPORT, R.I.

erett, but had declined owing to the entreaties of his church. He was then father of the Boston clergy and a man distinguished both for affability and wisdom. Colonel Thomas Hutchinson, the other companion of Berkeley on his Harvard visit, was the father of Governor Thomas Hutchinson, author of the *History of Massachusetts*. He was prominent in affairs of state, as he was a member of His Majesty's Council for the Province of Massachusetts Bay from 1714 to 1737 excepting for two years. He was a merchant of considerable wealth and had a sumptuous house on Hanover Street in Boston. To him the North End of Boston owed the gift of the North Latin Schoolhouse, its first school.

Berkeley was "overtaken," Sewall says in his diary, on this visit to Harvard by himself and Colonel Hutchinson at the home of Colonel Francis Brinley in Roxbury, where the Dean was undoubtedly staying. His host,

Colonel Brinley, was a native of London and was educated at Eton. He had come to Newport, Rhode Island, in 1710 at the invitation of Francis Brinley, his grandfather, who had made him his heir. Later he had moved to Boston, where in 1718 he had married Deborah Lyde of a prominent family. In 1723 he built one of the finest mansions in Roxbury, which was styled by him "Datchet House," having been modelled after the family seat at Datchet in England. Its site was that of the present cathedral of the Redemptionist Fathers in Roxbury. Colonel Brinley was a founder of King's Chapel, where Berkeley preached, and where both Brinley and his wife are buried. It was natural, alike because of Colonel Brinley's associations with Newport, and more particularly because he was a prominent churchman, that Dean Berkeley should become his guest at Datchet House. Whether Colonel Brinley accom-

panied the Dean and his friends who overtook him on his visit to Harvard is not known.

At Harvard College on September 17, 1731, Dean Berkeley was doubtless received by the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth (H. C. 1690), who was its President for the twelve years from 1725 to 1737. To give due honor to the distinguished visitor the President would be attended by his associates the Rev. Edward Wigglesworth, Hollis professor of divinity, Isaac Greenwood, Hollis professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, Henry Flynt, tutor and fellow, and Nathan Prince, also tutor and fellow. The college at the date of this visit consisted of Harvard Hall, a fair and stately edifice of brick. It was built in 1677 and contained the library, a lecture room, and several student rooms, but was destroyed by fire in 1764; with it unfortunately was lost the gift of books made by Berkeley. Old Stoughton Hall, another building built of brick in 1699,

where the students had rooms and dined, then stood opposite the entrance of the present gateway to the University. The newer Stoughton Hall was built on its present site in 1806. The most imposing of the college buildings at that time was Massachusetts Hall. It was a handsome structure built of brick in 1720, at an expense to the Province of thirty-five hundred pounds. This college building, recently entirely renovated, is the oldest now standing of those seen by Berkeley. Wadsworth House, now used by the visiting clergy at Harvard, was built in 1726 as a residence for the president. Here it was that President Wadsworth would undoubtedly have received Dean Berkeley as his guest. This visit of the distinguished philosopher greatly enhances the many honorable associations of the historic building where Washington once abode. That Berkeley was much impressed by the attentions he received and by the high character

and promise of this oldest of the New England institutions of learning is evident by his subsequent donations of the Latin and Greek classics to its Library, and by his generous efforts to promote the interests of education in America following his return to England.

In regard to Berkeley's departure from Boston on Tuesday, September 21, 1731, after this visit of twelve days there exist several contemporary references. Benjamin Walker's diary records under the date Tuesday, September 21 (1731): "Dean Berkeley sailed in Carlin for London with family." The Boston Weekly News Letter of Thursday, September 16, to September 23, 1731, confirms the statement in Walker's diary, as follows: "On Tuesday last (September 21, 1731) Capt. Carlin sailed from hence for London in whom embarked the Rev. Dean Berkeley and his family who lately came hither from Rhode Island for that purpose. The Rev. Mr. George Pigot of

Marblehead embarked also with them." Another Boston newspaper, *The Weekly Rehearsal*, of Monday, September 27, 1731, also says: "Last Tuesday, the Rev. Dean Berkeley embarked in *Carling* for London." From Boston the Dean's passage across the Atlantic occupied thirty-three days. He arrived in London on October 30, 1731, after an absence from England of a little over three years in pursuance of his romantic venture in the New World.



With Berkeley's return to England it is interesting to trace what became of the subscriptions which had been made to the Bermuda college, and to discover into what channels the proposed government grant was ultimately diverted. Not long after arriving in London we find the Dean, on January 12, 1732, at the home of his friend Sir John Percival, afterwards the first Earl of Egmont, dis-

curring with him from dinner time to ten o'clock the Carolina project. This philanthropic scheme had for its purpose the settlement of insolvent debtors and of persons fleeing from religious persecution on the continent to lands forming a new colony of Georgia. Colonel James Oglethorpe, who had "given the first hint of the project," was present, and sought with Percival to learn from Berkeley whether, having abandoned the Bermuda project, he would give some part of the subscriptions he had received for it to the Carolina settlement. Even before Berkeley left America he had been informed of this noble enterprise. From Bartlett's Building in London Henry Newman had written on February 5, 1731, to Dean Berkeley at Rhode Island: "You will hear of a project vigorously espoused by Mr. Oglethorpe and several other active members of parliament among which my Lord Percival is one, for sending a colony

of our poor helpless people for a year's support under the direction of Capt. Coram, agent, well known in your parts, to the southern part of South Carolina, where His Majesty has some unappropriated lands to give them a grant, which is now preparing." On March 10, 1731, Percival met Archdeacon Benson at court and was told that Dean Berkeley was preparing to come home. The Archdeacon also added that he understood the trustees of the intended settlement in Carolina desired that he should establish his college there and give to it half the twenty thousand pounds, if the whole could be procured, but he was doubtful if this would answer the Dean's purpose. Percival thereupon replied that it would be necessary to await the return of the Dean in order to consult him on the project. Under the leadership of Oglethorpe and Percival the plans were now in full preparation to carry out the philanthropic en-

terprise for the founding of Georgia, and for this purpose the funds controlled by Berkeley were much needed.

The outcome of the appeal now made to Berkeley for the subscriptions he had received is discovered from an interview which he had with Percival several months after his arrival in London. On Tuesday, March 14, 1732, Percival writes in his diary: "Dean Berkeley came to see me. I asked him if, having laid aside his Bermuda scheme, he would care to turn over to the Carolina settlement some part of the subscriptions that were made to his scheme, believing that he might influence many of the subscribers to bestow their intended gifts to what other good projects he should recommend to them. He replied that many of his subscribers had desired him in consideration of the charges he had been at in carrying on his own design to accept their money as a present to reimburse himself, but

that he had refused it, only recommended to them the letting their subscriptions go to the support of a College in Connecticut, erected about thirty years ago by private subscription, and which breeds the best clergymen and most learned of any college in America. That the clergymen who left the Presbyterian Church and came over to ours last year were educated there. That as this college, or rather academy, came nearest to his own plan, he was desirous to encourage it, and having already proceeded so far as to recommend it to his subscribers he could not do the thing desired of him." It is very evident that Yale, the "College in Connecticut," had made a strong appeal to him while in America because of its high standard of scholarship, and particularly because he was hopeful that from it the clergy for the Church might be recruited. Nevertheless, Berkeley did not overlook the benevolent project in Georgia in his effort to-

ward the disposal of the government grant. The lands of St. Christopher from which he had hoped to receive twenty thousand pounds produced ninety thousand. Of this sum eight thousand pounds was granted by the government as a marriage portion of the Princess Royal. But the remainder, Oglethorpe with the assistance of Berkeley induced parliament to vote to the new college of Georgia.¹

Early after his arrival in London Berkeley sought to inform and stimulate the missionary organizations concerning the state of religion in America. On Friday, February 18, 1732, he preached the anniversary sermon in the Parish Church of St. Mary Le Bow before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In it he referred to America as the peculiar province of the venerable society, and said that he had resided there on a

1. See *Journal of the House of Commons*, May, 10, 16, and 17, 1733.

design similar to their own for the progress of religion. He said that in Rhode Island there were many different denominations, but that as the ministers of dissenting seminaries became more educated the prejudices against the Church of England were a good deal worn off. This attitude was largely due to the efforts of Berkeley himself, as during his residence at Whitehall he had urged upon the Rev. Messrs. Johnson, Honyman, Macsparren, Cutler, and others, missionaries of this Society, the duty of conciliating the community and particularly the nonconformists. He likewise impressed upon the English that the national church should not be regarded chiefly as opposed to other Christian societies, but that they should learn to love those of opinions they might not approve. He pleaded that the allowances for the overseas clergy be augmented. He sought also to secure better treatment of the Indians and plantation Negroes overseas.

The religious interest of Berkeley in America was exhibited further in gifts to individual churches. His benefactions were made mostly through the agency of Henry Newman, the agent of the Harvard College Corporation in London, who as before mentioned was also Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge from 1708 to 1743. Among these gifts was that of an organ to Trinity Church in Newport. Newman writes in a letter dated October 19, 1733, to the Rev. Mr. Honyman as follows: "Rev'd Sir: This day I shipped on board the Godfrey, Capt. Draper of your town, a fine new organ made on purpose for your church by the Rev. Mr. Dean Berkeley. I have a letter from the Dean for you to send in the ship that carries the organ by whom I shall send particular directions how to put it up in your church, where I hope it may be long used to the glory of God in celebrating his praises

by the harmony and fervor it may add to the devotions of those who attend your congregations.”¹ The evidence from this shipment clearly proves incorrect the statement which has been frequently made in print that the organ was first sent to the town bearing his name, but that not being welcomed because the inhabitants were opposed to instrumental music in churches, it was presented to Trinity Church, Newport.

In addition to the gift of the organ Newman writes that by Berkeley's leave he had insured it for one hundred and fifty pounds and paid the freight “to ease your flock of any burthen on that score.” In a letter of September 26, 1735, Newman acknowledges a favor of November 27 (1734), from the Rev. Mr. Honynman with a letter enclosed to the Bishop of Cloyne. This letter he says was immediately forwarded to his Lordship in Ireland. He

1. W. O. B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

adds, "I am glad to hear that of the organ being come safe into your hands and that you are so well provided with an organist." The organ presented to Trinity Church was used by it for more than a century and a half, and a portion of it has been incorporated into the present organ of the church. Before leaving Newport Berkeley also had made gifts of books to the library of Trinity Church, which are still preserved.

Sixteen years after his return, the aid of Bishop Berkeley was sought in the rebuilding of King's Chapel, where he had preached when in Boston. The petition of the Church of January 27, 1748, reads: "Your Lordship's residence for some time in these parts of America but especially your well known zeal and liberality in promoting the interest of religion and learning here encourages us to acquaint your Lordship with the condition of King's Chapel, and to ask your interest and

assistance in favour of it being rebuilt, which by time and accidents is now become necessary.—H.C.—J.G.”

Berkeley's interest in the cause of learning in America during the years following his return to England is evinced by important gifts to its two prominent colleges. He forwarded a collection of books chiefly of the Greek and Roman classics to Harvard College. At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard held on September 7, 1733, at which were present the President, Mr. Flynt, Dr. Sewall, Dr. Wigglesworth, Mr. Appleton, Mr. Prince, and the Treasurer, it was voted: “Whereas ye Rev. Dean Berkeley has lately promised a valuable collection of books and sent them to Harvard College, yt ye thanks of ye corporation be returned by ye President to ye Dean for the above donation procur'd and sent by him; and that he be desired to make proper acknowledgements in behalf of ye corporation

to those gentlemen who have contributed to so liberal a benefaction." In regard to this gift of books Mr. Newman writes on October 19, 1733, from Bartlett's Building in London to the Rev. Mr. Wadsworth, President of Harvard College: "Rev'd and Dear Sir: I hope you received my last of the 1st of June. I now send a catalogue of the books the Rev. Mr. Dean Berkeley has presented to our College and doubt not you will make a proper acknowledgement for them." In addition it would appear from the records of the Harvard Corporation that a later gift of books was also received by the College through the active assistance of Bishop Berkeley. At a meeting of the President and Fellows on December 5, 1748, it was voted: "That letters of Thanks be sent to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for the large present of Books sent to the College, as also to the Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, by whose influ-

ence they were procured." The books sent to Harvard through Berkeley's agency were unfortunately burned when Harvard Hall was destroyed by fire.

Yale College, however, was the chief participant in Berkeley's benefactions after his return to England. In the same year (1733) in which he sent a gift of books to Harvard he also sent a collection of about one thousand volumes to Yale. These books are still happily preserved in Yale's library. But the most important academic gift by far to America was that Berkeley made in the year 1732, when he sent to the President of Yale College a deed of Whitehall, where he had resided when in Newport. He enjoined that the yearly rents and profits from this place be spent for the maintenance of three bachelors to be chosen for their excellence in Greek and Latin. From personal intercourse with the Rev. Samuel Johnson and the Rev. Jared

Elliot, Berkeley had doubtless become well acquainted with the college at New Haven. He corresponded too with the rector, Mr. Williams. Furthermore, several clergymen who had been educated there had joined the Anglican Church, and also, as he observed in a sermon already mentioned, preached after his arrival in London, the ministers supplied out of the "dissenting seminaries in proportion as they attained to more liberal improvements of learning, are observed to quit their prejudices towards an episcopal church." When he recommended this college on March 14, 1732, to the former subscribers to his project, he wrote that as the college "came nearest his own plan he was desirous to encourage it." Berkeley's Whitehall still stands in the town of Middletown about three miles from Newport. In 1900 the Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Rhode Island purchased a long lease of the house and a half .

acre of land, and now maintains Whitehall as a permanent memorial to Berkeley.

Minor private gifts made by Dean Berkeley to his friends on leaving Newport are still treasured by families in New England. A well-wrought silver cup was presented by him to Colonel Daniel Updike, who was for twenty-seven years Attorney General of the Colony of Rhode Island. Colonel Updike was the first signer of the constitution of the Literary Society of Newport, to which Berkeley belonged, and was also his intimate friend during his sojourn in that town. This flagon is still preserved as an heirloom in the family of the Updikes.¹ A copy of Berkeley's *Minute Philosopher* was also sent to Colonel Updike by the Bishop, and is still a family possession. Another gift was that to Mr. Coit of a chair reputed to be the one in which he wrote the

1. Mr. Daniel Berkeley Updike, 112 Pinckney Street, Boston, is the present owner (1932).

Minute Philosopher. The Rev. Gordon S. Coit, an Episcopal clergyman at Bridgeport, Connecticut, and the author of *Puritanism, or a Churchman's Defense against its Dispersers*, wrote in 1907: "Through my grandfather the chair in which Dean Berkeley used to sit at Newport has descended to me and is still in good preservation."¹ At Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, the president sits at the conferring of degrees at the annual commencement in a chair that once belonged to Berkeley.



The inspiration and influence of Berkeley's visit and efforts have been of enduring value in the life and thought of America. Better possibly than the founding of a single college has been the intellectual stimulus felt on this continent, at first from his personal aid and

1. W. Updike, *A History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, Rhode Island*, 2nd ed., Boston, 1907, vol. II, p. 44.

counsel during his sojourn here, then more widely from his devotion to the cause of its higher education, and in all subsequent years more especially by the abiding impetus and supremacy of his idealistic philosophy. Both letters and art early profited from his sojourn. Newport still possesses in Whitehall, the historic home of the philosopher, and in Redwood Library, the outcome of the philosophical society to which he belonged, the outward symbols of the former presence of this distinguished man of letters of the age of Queen Anne. With Berkeley came too John Smibert, the artist, a royal academician, who had been attracted by his ideals of a new civilization in the western world. This artist made various portraits in Newport and Narragansett and then settled permanently in Boston. A painting by him of Berkeley and his family was obtained in 1808 by Yale University, where it is still to be seen. Several portraits

that he painted are likewise in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Smibert was the master of Copley and a forerunner of American art. Peter Harrison, an English architect, came also to Newport during Berkeley's residence there. His designs are today embodied in King's Chapel, Boston, erected in 1749, in Christ Church, Cambridge, built in 1761, and in the Redwood Library in Newport, constructed in 1750. Berkeley as the result of his early visits to Italy clearly brought what was in some measure the nature of a renaissance of art to America.

In the realm of American education the halo of Berkeley's illustrious name is not confined to a particular locality or a single institution of learning. On his arrival in America he visited the College of William and Mary, and immediately before his departure also Harvard College. After his return to England he gave, as we have seen, collections of

books both to Harvard and Yale, and to the College at New Haven a deed, also, of Whitehall, his residence at Newport. King's College, now Columbia University, was founded largely on the model which he advised in a letter to his friend Samuel Johnson, its first president. The College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, also followed his wise counsel in its early organization. The Berkeley Divinity School, formerly at Middletown, Connecticut, and now located at New Haven, bears his name and keeps him in loyal remembrance. The state of California erected its university in a city to which was given the name of Berkeley.

Berkeley is known in historical philosophy as the founder of modern idealism. To his influence is most largely due the enduring character of idealistic tendencies in America. The greatest of all English idealists fostered here idealistic thought during his residence in New-

port. The Rev. Samuel Johnson (Y. C. 1714), a former tutor and rector of Yale and afterwards President of King's College, became an intimate friend of Berkeley and was an avowed adherent of his idealistic philosophy. The Dean sought both by personal intercourse and correspondence to explain to his disciple the fundamental principles of his idealism. Indeed in *Alciphron or the Minute Philosopher* written by Berkeley when in Newport, Berkeley may be the Euphrenor and Johnson the Crito. In 1752 Johnson printed the *Elementa Philosophica*, which was dedicated to Berkeley. The *Noetica* was the clearest presentation of idealism that had appeared in America. The principles of Berkeleyian idealism were here applied to the harmonizing of the individual and the divine will. This work was used as a textbook both in King's College during the presidency of Johnson and in the Philosophy School of the

Academy of Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin and William Smith of Philadelphia had cooperated in its publication. Johnson remained always an ardent propagandist of the tenets of Berkeleian idealism. He was both the earliest and the most notable representative of American idealism.

Jonathan Edwards, the ablest metaphysician this continent had to his time produced, was another distinguished American whose early philosophy was thoroughly Berkeleian in its character. His *Notes on the Mind*, which were written between 1717 and 1725, abound in such Berkeleian phrases as "Bodies have no existence of their own"; "All existence is mental; the existence of all things is ideal"; and "The universe exists nowhere but in the divine mind." Although in this early production Edwards advances the idealistic principles identified with Berkeley, there is no direct evidence that he had previously read any of

the writings of the philosopher. Johnson, it is true, was his tutor at Yale before the arrival of Berkeley; but then Johnson's own study of Berkeley's *Principles of Human Knowledge*, according to his literary notes, dates only from the year 1727-28. Edwards' first reference to Berkeley is made in 1730. It has thus been claimed that his early idealism was independently derived from the philosophy of Locke by the application of his own deductive reasoning powers to its data. Since, however, the proof is by no means conclusive that Edwards never had direct access to any of Berkeley's writings, others have regarded it as more natural and reasonable to suppose from the close resemblance of their doctrines that he had gained some knowledge of the Dean's idealistic philosophy before the writing of his *Notes on the Mind*.

The philosophical thinkers of nascent New England were idealists. The trend of

idealistic thought was strengthened by such able interpreters as the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, the Rev. William Ellery Channing of Boston, and Rowland Z. Hazard, the latter a disputant with John Stuart Mill on freewill. There was present, however, a common temper and outlook in their idealism rather than any formal acceptance of the idealistic principles which Berkeley had enunciated. Berkeleianism awaited the reinforcement of German idealism in order to become predominant in American thought.

Later American idealism under German influence received its first impetus from the St. Louis School of Philosophy founded by William T. Harris. After Berkeley there came in Germany the critical idealism of Kant, and during the first half of the nineteenth century the philosophical side of the romantic movement was established by Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and others. It was Harris who insti-

tuted the first systematic study of German philosophical thought in America. He was the founder in 1867 of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, which became, as has been well said, the "forcing bed" of native American philosophers. This journal sought to reinforce the idealistic movement by the reproduction in English of the writings of the German philosophers. In it not only German idealism but also the doctrine of Berkeley received a direct exposition. Harris looked forward to the distinctive rendering of idealism in the light of American experience.

From the coming of Berkeley to the present time the stream of idealistic thought has been the most persistent force in American philosophy. Expositors of idealism have occupied chairs of philosophy in nearly all the great institutions of learning which have been founded in the various states. In New England Noah Porter of Yale and Francis Bowen

of Harvard were idealistic in their trend of thought and instruction. John Watson of Queen's in Canada and George Trumball Ladd of Yale have been more recently exponents of idealistic philosophy. Josiah Royce of Harvard University stands out as foremost of the idealists that America has produced. Indeed he has been called the "Ulysses of the idealistic epic." In American philosophy Royce represents the romantic side of idealism and harks back to German romanticism. The romanticism of Berkeley when he affirms that all the choir of heaven and furniture of earth are but a system of ideas which subsists only in the mind of some created or eternal spirit, finds an even more complete expression in the Divine Logos of the Roycean philosophy. On the Pacific slope George Holmes Howison, who there exercised a deep influence on the philosophical thought of the region, arrived at a personal idealism in

kinship with the system of Kant. As in Berkeley's idealism so likewise according to Howison reality is a community of spirits sharing a common ideal eternally realized in God. The Philosophical Union too, which he founded in the University of California, has promoted idealistic philosophy. As settlement has pressed westward across the continent of America until it has reached the shores of the Pacific the philosophy of Berkeley has been taught. How fitting, therefore, that at the farthest limits of the West, overlooking the Golden Gate, there was bestowed upon a university town the name of Berkeley "in remembrance of one of the very best of the early friends of college education in America," and that in it the State of California has erected its university, alike as a monument to the learning and vision of the English philosopher and as evidence of a yearning for the fulfilment of his prophecy:

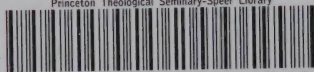
Westward the course of Empire takes its way,
 The first four acts already past;
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
 The world's great effort is the last.



Of Berkeley's later life only a few words need here be said. He resided at Green Street in London from 1732 to 1734. Of his own literary friends of former days few remained. London's intellectual life was far less brilliant than previously. Queen Caroline, however, continued to hold her receptions, and on its appearance "*Alciphron* was the discourse of the court." On January 17, 1734, Berkeley received the Bishopric of Cloyne. He now returned to Ireland after an absence of twenty years (1713-33) to take up a continued residence of eighteen years (1734-52) in his diocese of Cloyne. Here he published the *Querist* from 1735 to 1737, and the *Siris* in 1744. The latter extolled the virtue of tar-

water as a panacea for nearly all human ills. In it also his own original idealism found its mature and final expression. The treatise proved to be the last words of Berkeley in philosophy. In August, 1752, Berkeley ended his sojourn at Cloyne and went to Oxford to enjoy its academic retirement. But his ideal life there was of short duration. On the 14th of January, 1753, he passed away. There departed from the world then a man of unrivaled charm of personality, one of the most admirable writers in the history of English literature, and one of the most distinguished of all English philosophers.

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